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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

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The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 513 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [516] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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reason: the *pu kakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tapé'a Chant

The *tapé'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tapé'a*. In other words the *tapé'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tapé'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tapé'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father, other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bringing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu 'me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *haka pahaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au patu-tiki*) and that *putu* were

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sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the tattooing.

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

The Pehi Chant

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chart is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

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Pu'ukeha, and I'i

537 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the
576 *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ina ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

The Komumu Chant

534 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

576 The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

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younger children active enough to keep up with the gang. The group usually remained together until the members began to marry and settle down. There was a tendency for these gangs to gather about the eldest child of a chief or of one of the more important families. This leader, who might be either a girl or a boy, dominated the group. From the age of ten on, children were largely independent of their households and families. The older gangs were familiar with the taboos and dangers and could look after themselves. They spent most of their time fishing and raiding plantations for food when they were hungry. There was no wanton mischief or deliberate vandalism; they simply amused themselves. A child might be away from home for two or three days on one of these gang expeditions. The children did whatever they wanted to do. When hungry they went to the nearest house and were fed; at night, since every house had a bed at least thirty feet long, they were accommodated wherever they chanced to be when night fell.

Leadership in the gang was based on ability, so that often a particularly strong and active girl would be the leader. There was not much fighting among the children, but when a fight did break out, the girls were quite capable of taking care of themselves. Marquesan children had extraordinary self-confidence and composure. On one occasion I visited a valley where white men rarely penetrated. I paid a call upon a particular household to which I had an introduction through native friends of mine. I called a greeting at the door of the house and was met by a little girl of about five. Although she had probably never seen a white man before, she welcomed me with perfect composure, explained that none of the elders was at home, but invited me into the house, spread out the proper mat, sat down, and entertained me graciously until her elders arrived. This fine feeling for the social graces, which was typical of the Marquesans, was also observable in the life which the children led among themselves away from the adults. They seldom played group games of any sort, but they danced and sang in imitation of the elders and also copied the occupations